

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 /090 W

----- 011535

R 060722Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 679

INFO:RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3777

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN UNN

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 7165

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, RO, WTO

SUBJECT: POST-BREZHNEV AND WARSAW PACT GLEANINGS

REF: BUCHAREST 6880; BUCHAREST 7003; BUCHAREST 7038;  
MOSCOW 18707-(NOTAL; BONN 20297(NOTAL)

1. NATO AMBASSADORS MET DECEMBER 1 TO COMPARE SO FAR FAIRLY SLIM PICKINGS SINCE LAST WEEK. BRITISH AMBASSADOR, WHO HAD BRIEF OPPORTUNITY TO QUIZ FOREIGN MINISTER MACOVESCU, QUOTED LATTER AS SAYING THERE WAS NOTHING REALLY NEW IN EITHER BREZHNEV OR WARSAW PACT CONTEXTS AND THAT ROMANIANS HAD GIVEN NOTHING AWAY. MACOVESCU MAINTAINED BOTH FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE AND SECRETARIAT WERE REALLY FORMULIZATIONS OF EARLIER ADMITTEDLY SPORADIC PRACTICES. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS HE CLAIMED MIGHT MEET MORE OFTEN THAN IN THE PAST BUT NOT NECESSARILY SO. AS FOR THE SECRETARIAT IT WOULD NOT BE A PERMANENT MECHANISM BUT WOULD BE CONSTITUTED AD HOC TO PREPARE FOR PCC OR FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS AND SOMEONE FROM EACH COUNTRY WOULD BE SENT AHEAD OF TIME TO THE SITE OF THE MEETING. (COMMENT: EAST GERMAN AMBASSADOR QUOTED ALSO AS SAYING SECRETARIAT LOCATION WILL ROTATE.) WHEN BRITISH AMBASSADOR ASKED WHETHER THE PROPOSED INCREASED CONSULTATIONS IN THEMSELVES WOULD NOT LEAD TO CONSTRICTIONS ON ROMANIAN FREEDOM OF ACTION, SAY ON CSCE, MACOVESCU REPLIED THAT NOTHING WOULD CHANGE AND IN FACT ROMANIA HOPED TO EXPAND ITS BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH ALL EUROPEAN STATES.

2. MACOVESCU AVOID DIRECT RESPONSE TO QUESTION ON EFFECT OF WP SUMMIT ON ROMANIA'S RELATIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED, SAYING ONLY THAT NON-ALIGNED SHOULD BE PLEASED THAT WP STATEMENT CONTAINED FIRST FORMAL RECOGNITION IN WP DOCUMENT OF IMPORTANCE OF NON-ALIGNED, WHICH REPRESENTS A REAL CHANGE IN SOVIET ATTITUDES. (COMMENT: MOCOVESCU IT SEEMS TO US EXAGGERATES SOMEWHAT THE DEGREE OF CHANGE SINCE 1974 THOUGH THIS YEAR THERE IS REFERENCE TO ACTUAL  
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COOPERATION BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND THE NON-ALIGNED. BOTH WE AND SEVERAL OTHER NATOP EMBASSIES HAVE BEEN TOLD BY NON-ALIGNED COUNTERPARTS THAT ROMANIA'S BEING HOST TO WP MEETING, AGREEING TO INTENSIFIED CONSULTATIONS WITH ITS PACT PARTNERS, CREATION OF FOREIGN MINISTERS' COMMITTEE AND SECRETARIAT WILL REINFORMCE HAND OF CUBANS AND INDIANS WHO OPPOSED ROMANIAN OBSERVER STATUS AND

IN ANY CASE WILL NOT HELP ROMANIAN IMAGE WITH MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE. PRACTICAL EFFORT, IN OUR JUDGMENT HOWEVER, LIKELY TO BE LIMITED BOTH BECAUSE OF WHAT WILL BE ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO STRESS CONTENT RATHER THAN FORM AND BECAUSE NO MAJOR NON-ALIGNED MEETINGS SCHEDULED FOR SOME TIME.)

3. YUGOLSAV AMBASSADOR DODIK TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT HIS EARLIER CONCERNS OVER POSSIBLE RAILWAY LINKS BETWEEN THE USSR AND BULGARIA (BUCHAREST 6880) AND ROMANIAN PARTICIPATION IN MANEUVERS HAD EVAPORATED BUT HE ADMITTED TO BEING PERMANENTLY WORRIED OVER HOW MUCH PRESSURE ROMANIA COULD TAKE IN THE LONG TERM AND THEREFORE KEPT LOOKING FOR SIGNS OF ACCOMMODATION. HIS CURRENT CONCERN IS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' COMMITTEE AND SECRETARIAT, HOWEVER HARMLESS THEY MAY ACTUALLY BE (OR INTENDED TO BE BY ROMANIANS) WILL BE USED RELENTLESSLY BY SOVIETS TO ENFORCE GREATER DISCIPLINE. CHINESE HERE HAVE EXPRESSED SOME APPREHENSION AS HAS YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR. ON MANEUVERS QUESTION, SENIOR RCP CC MEMBER MIHNEA GHEORGHU TOLD DANISH AMBASSADOR THAT ROMANIA HAD NOT AND WOULD NOT CHANGE ITS NON-PARTICIPATION APPROACH.

4. CONTRARY TO VIEW EXPRESSED BY GERMAN MFA OFFICIAL IN BONN 20297, GERMAN AMBASSADOR REPORTED THAT BONN FORESEES INCREASED PROBLEM OVER BERLIN IN LIGHT OF WP DELCARATION. ROMANIAN POSITION, WHICH HAD BEGUN TO HARDEN LAST YEAR, HAS HARDENED STILL FURTHER IN LAST FEW MONTHS, AS EXEMPLIFIED BY DRAFT ROMANIAN CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPSAL FOR CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH FRG WHICH ENTIRELY OMITTED ANY REFERENCE TO BERLIN.

5. IZVESTIYA COMMENT (MOSCOW 18707) ON TRADE INCREASE IN CURRENT FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF 70 PERCENT IS SAME FIGURE USED EARLIER BY ROMANIAN MEDIA (BUCHAREST 0228) AS RESULTING FROM PLAN COORDINATION PROTOCOL OF NOVEMBER 1975. ALL SIGNES HERE SO FAR POINT TO SAME CONCLUSION AS THAT REACHED BY EMBASSY MOSCOW THAT NOTHING YET HAS HAPPENED IN THE TRADE FIELD.

6. SOVIETS HERE HAVE BEEN RATHER RESTRAINED AND NON-COMMITTAL IN THEIR COMMENTS ON LAST WEEK'S EVENTS. SOVIET COUNSELOR, FOR EXAMPLE, QUOTED AS COMPLAINING ABOUT "LACK OF COORDINATED APPLAUSE"

AT FRIENDSHIP MEETING AND AS BEING IN GENERAL  
CRITICAL OF ROMANIAN ORGANIZATION EFFORT.

7. COMMENT: CONSENSUS AT THIS STATE OF NATO  
AMBASSADORS IS THAT BREZHNEV-CEAUSESCU MEETING  
WAS A STAND-OFF, THOUGH FRG AMBASSADOR INCLINED  
TO THINK WP REQUIREMENTS FOR SOLIDARITY TIP  
BALANCE IN SOVIET FAVOR. ALL AGREE THAT ROMANIANS  
BOTH IN TERMS OF PUBLIC HANDLING AND PRIVATELY  
ARE DOING BEST TO CREATE IMPRESSION THAT NOTHING,  
ABSOLUTELY NOTHING HAS CHANGED OF SUBSTANCE. IF  
THIS IS TRUE, IT MAY ALSO UNFORTUNATELY BE TRUE  
FOR THOSE ROMANIANS WHO HAVE EXPRESSED THE HOPE  
THAT WITH BETTER ROMANIAN-SOVIET ATMOSPHERE MAYBE  
INTERNAL RESTRICTIONS WILL BE RELAXED SOMEWHAT.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PFOR, REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, AMBASSADORS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ElyME  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976BUCHAR07165  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** RR  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760450-0139  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 76 BUCHAREST 6880, 76 BUCHAREST 7003, 76 BUCHAREST 7038, 76 MOSCOW 18707-(NOTAL, 76 BONN 20297(NOTAL)  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ElyME  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09 APR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <09 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <02 AUG 2004 by ElyME>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** POST-BREZHNEV AND WARSAW PACT GLEANINGS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, UR, RO, WTO, NATO  
**To:** SECSTATE WASHDC BELGRADE BERLIN BUDAPEST MOSCOW PRAGUE SOFIA WARSAW  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006